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Amy Mallard's own story

'If it takes my life—I want the world to know'

By Elmer Bendiner

I TALKED by telephone with Mrs. Amy Mallard in Savannah, Ga., on the day after a jury acquitted a white man of the charge of murdering her husband.

Mrs. Mallard is a Negro school teacher. On Nov. 18 she, her husband and two cousins were driving home from a school picnic. A band of white men stopped their car and shot Robert Mallard dead. Mrs. Mallard identified William Spud Howell, 24, as one of the men who had stood with the band that killed her husband.

Last Tuesday William Spud Howell sat in the dock of a little courtroom in Lyons, Ga., his chin on his hand, and stared at the widow.

DIXIE EVIDENCE. When I asked Mrs. Mallard to talk to me of that trial, her voice came back to me over the telephone, tense and high-pitched but very firm. In the background I could hear a baby cry. This is the way Mrs. Mallard described the trial:

Amy Mallard

"As soon as I came into the courtroom I was called to the stand. I told my story. Then the defense attorney called up different witnesses, a lot of witnesses. They all said the defendant had a good name.

"Then the lawyer asked, 'How about Amy?'

" 'She's bad.'

" 'Would you believe her on oath?' "

" 'No.'

WRONG COLOR. "It was like a memorized affair. It didn't seem like a court to me. It was like a—a finality.

"Everyone said, 'She's bad.'

"The GBI (Georgia Bureau of Investigation) lieutenant who just met me at my husband's funeral, he said, 'She's bad.' He said, 'She has a brother in New York who told her not to talk until she saw a lawyer. She's bad.'

"And some of those white people I thought were my friends got up and said I was bad—bad—bad."

In the courtroom at Lyons, Ga., Negroes may not sit downstairs with white people. A balcony is set aside for them. Mrs. Mallard told me that on the day of the trial white people filled most of the balcony and her friends could not come in.

WHITE BUT BAD. A white man, Joseph M. Goldwasser of Cleveland, Ohio, had come down to help Mrs. Mallard. Defense attorney T. Ross Sharpe announced that Goldwasser was to be called as a defense witness. He was held in an adjoining room but never called.

Mrs. Mallard told me that the defense attorney in his remarks to the jury disposed of Goldwasser this way: "We don't want no outsiders here. Going around, holding Nigger babies—he isn't fit for cat-fish bait in the Omaha River."

QUICK WORK. The defense called two of the jurymen as witnesses (they can, under Georgia law). Though they had sworn to be unbiased in the case, each testified that William Spud Howell had a good name and Amy Mallard was bad.

The jury deliberated for only 20 minutes before acquitting Howell. The verdict brought whistles and cheers from the white audience of about 300 that filled the court.

Then the State moved to quash the case against Roderick L. Clifton, another white man whom Mrs. Mallard had identified as one of the murder band. They said the case against him was "even weaker." The court agreed that Clifton need not be tried.

"THEY'LL GET ME." Earlier I had talked to Dr. Ralph Gilbert, president of the Savannah Bureau of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. He told me: "The verdict seems to declare an open season on Negroes."

I asked Mrs. Mallard whether she did not feel unsafe in Savannah even though few knew her precise whereabouts. She said:

"I don't think it's a safe place to stay. They'll get me just like they got my husband. Even the police who are supposed to be protecting me—why, they wanted to go off down a dirt road on the way to court. The lieutenant said he didn't want any publicity. I told him I didn't care who saw me.

TELL THE WORLD. "It began last summer when the new Governor [Herman Talmadge] came in. They said that I was aiming to teach white children. They even got the children to arguing.

"I didn't know the picture was so bad until I got into it myself. There's no law in Georgia for a black man. And the world don't know."

Then Mrs. Mallard's voice that had come over the wires so firmly broke. She sobbed. I tried to thank her and to apologize for troubling her at such a time. And at that her voice came back strong, very clear. She said:

"Even if it takes my life—I want the world to know."

We find that more than 75 per cent of all expenditures are earmarked either to pay for past wars or to strengthen the economies of freedom-loving nations and to build and equip at home "the most powerful military forces this nation ever maintained in peacetime."
Nor does the President hold out hope of an early reduction in this preponder-
The New York Times
TRUMAN'S BUDGET MESSAGE

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NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Acheson's ordeal

DEAN GOODERHAM ACHESON, 55-year-old son of a British Bishop, a lawyer, a Yale and Harvard man of sprightly wit and manners, given to British fashions, went before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week to be examined for his new job.

He had been proposed as the new Secretary of State by the President.

Senator Tom Connally (D-Tex.), florid-faced and bow-tied chairman of the committee, led the questioning. All Senators were invited to the hearing and many attended. But Sen. Connally ruled that all questions must come through the chairman.

WRONG HISS. What the Senators wanted to know was how Acheson felt about Russia. They were disturbed because in the Whittaker Chambers-Alger Hiss affair, former Asst. Sec. of State A. A. Berle accused Acheson of protecting "Mr. Hiss" in 1944 when "Mr. Hiss" took a "pro-Russian point of view" as one of the State Dept. men "in Mr. Acheson's group."

Acheson handled himself before the Senatorial inquisitors with dignity and diplomatic caution. He said that under his aegis U. S. policy toward Russia would not change, and that the charge that he was an "appeaser" was "contrary to one's entire public life." Bypassing specific questions about his future attitude toward the U.S.S.R., he recalled statements he had made in the past condemning dictatorships and Russian "aggressiveness."

Berle, said Acheson, was careless about his Hisses. It was Donald, brother of Chambers' alleged co-spy Alger Hiss, who worked as Acheson's assistant. Denying any "responsibility" for Alger, Acheson nevertheless said: "During that time (when Alger was a State Dept. officer) he and I became friends and we remain friends. . . . My friendship is not easily given and it is not easily withdrawn."

ENDORSEMENT. Isaac Don Levine, a ghost writer and Congressional committee witness noted for his ability to detect suspicious friendliness toward Russia, said:

"Acheson's appointment is to be welcomed as the beginning of a clear and steady course in American foreign policy after the incredible gyrations of Messrs. Stettinius, Byrnes and Marshall." He further predicted that Acheson would be an "American Bevin."

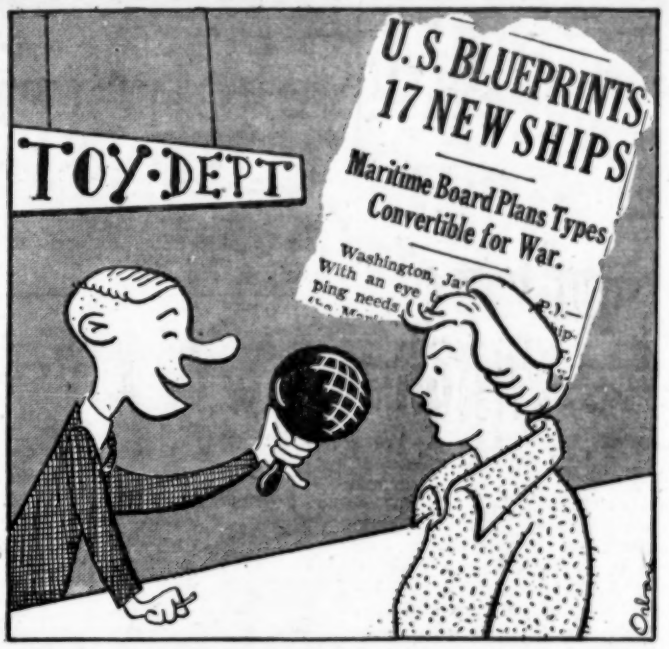
Overseas reaction varied, depending on political coloration. The Japanese newspaper **Mainichi** said:

"As Undersecretary, Mr. Acheson advocated the converting of Germany into the factory of Europe and Japan into the factory of Asia. . . . We delight at the appointment of the new Secretary."

Europe's reaction

CONTINUITY. Newspapers in the French and British zones of Germany hoped that there would be no change

Continued in wide column on next page.



"The beauty of this rattle is that it can easily be converted into a hand grenade."

The Economic Report

Truman is silent on the cancer—war spending

By Victor Perlo

THE President's Economic Report to Congress is like a movie preview of coming attractions: it presents tantalizing scenes but avoids giving away the plot.

These are some of the major conclusions of the President's report, which was based upon a detailed study by his Council of Economic Advisers:

1. Corporation profits are exorbitant and still rising.

2. The real incomes of wage earners are not rising and "the proportion of consumer expenditures in the total national product has never been lower in any peacetime year for which statistics are available."

3. Private capital investment is slackening in many fields.

4. The critical housing shortage has not been appreciably alleviated, and the rate of new construction is declining.

5. Minimum wage standards, based on pre-war levels, and social security benefits are hopelessly inadequate.

6. The country's education system faces a crisis, and health conditions are unsatisfactory.

7. Because of these facts, the economy is "vulnerable" and, in the absence of preventive measures, a serious depression can result.

ENFORCED WISDOM. To meet some of these points the President proposes a new housing program which is some improvement over the old Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill; increased minimum wages; broadened social security; Federal aid to education, and a national health insurance program. These are all good as far as they go.

The crux of the problem remains: the need for higher wages and lower prices. "These," he said, "must flow mainly from the wise action of the leaders in our enterprise economy."

Those "leaders" are the big corporations. They have never yet voluntarily cut prices or increased wages to promote the general welfare. Their profiteering is a prime cause of the vulnerable state of the economy.

The necessary "wise action" from these leaders of our economy will have to be forced from them. First item on the people's pressure agenda is repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act to restore labor's bargaining power—potentially the most valuable economic stabilizer.

SICK BILLIONS. The cancer at the core of the nation's economic sickness—huge and rising military expenditures, billions being poured into the cold war—is never directly discussed in the President's report.

Without these enormous expenditures, the "basic maladjustments" of which the Council of Economic Advisers speak would long since have resulted in a disastrous depression.

A prospective increase in these expenditures is the heart of the Administration program.

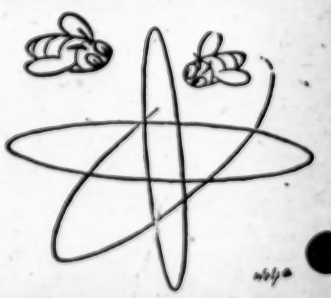
Data in the report of the President's economic advisers indicate that, in 1949, cash spending for military purposes will increase by more than $5,000,000,000. The report itself points out that this will have an especially severe inflationary impact. While war industries boom, production in consumer goods industries is likely to decline with a consequent increase in unemployment.

ONE OR THE OTHER. Such a rapid rise in military expenditures makes the President's domestic programs—even if they are enacted by Congress—unrealizable as long as the cold war continues.

Financially speaking, the Fair Deal works out to a huge net loss for the American people. They will pay $2,500,000,000 more for the cost of government through higher payroll taxes. In return they will get increased benefits of only $764,000,000 through housing, aid to education, increased social security and health insurance.

Such a budget cannot produce improved living standards nor make the economic situation less unsound. It perches the country perilously on a tightrope stretched between the poles of phenomenal war expenditures and phenomenal corporation profits.

The poles are raised many yards higher. The safety net is virtually out of sight below—if indeed it is still there.



"Look, ma—I'm atomic"

British mobilizing to save Trenton '6'

LONDON

BRITAIN'S second largest rank-and-file trade union body, the Manchester and Salford Trades Council, has voted to "join the growing international movement to save six American Negroes sentenced to death in Trenton, N. J.

The Council has pledged full support to a defense committee formed by Len Johnson, British Negro boxer, and including in its membership Lester Hutchinson, Member of Parliament, Captain Reuben, M.C., Councillor Mary Knight, and Horace Newbold, secretary of the Manchester and Salford Trades Council.

The Committee has already received resolutions of support from trade unions, the Society of Friends, and other religious and humanitarian organizations. Johnson has been invited to address a meeting of students at Manchester University on the case.

The Haldane Society, an organization of progressive lawyers, is considering sending an observer to the U.S. to attend the hearing on an appeal against the death sentences.

The case of the Trenton six was first publicized in England by **Reynolds News**, organ of the British Co-Operative Movement, in a dispatch from William A. Reuben who broke open the story in NATIONAL GUARDIAN. This weekly's reports of the Trenton case have been reprinted in the Paris progressive weekly **Action** and other European papers.

93% for peace

WARSAW

Estimates presented here for Poland's 1949 budget call for 56,641,000,000 zlotys ($141,602,500) to be spent on national defense. This is a little over 7% of the total budget of 800,000,000,000 zlotys ($2,000,000,000).

Week in Congress

The peacetime war budget pushes Taft-Hartley repeal to the rear

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT Truman's declaration in his Economic Report—that the nation is in fine shape but that its chief economists don't know whether a depression or more inflation is coming—was still being pondered when the stunning impact of the budget message arrived.

The President wanted $41,900,000,000 to run the country for the fiscal year beginning July 1. But that wasn't all.

Tending to overshadow the dramatic impact of the figures themselves was his indirect announcement that the U.S. definitely would arm Canada, Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, France and possibly others at a cost of $1,500,000,000 or more.

The implication was clear: Congress' exclusive power to declare war might be vetoed by the clause in the present draft of the North Atlantic Pact, under which an attack on one signatory is an attack on all.

From the UE News

BATTLE LINES. On this point three rough groupings in Congress began to emerge: Russia-haters who think the pact doesn't go far enough; those who think it goes too far in committing the U.S. to war; and those who think the arming of anti-Communist nations should be a straight lendlease affair with no pacts attached.

One fight arising out of the budget message will be centered on the size of the Air Force. The President proposes to keep it down to 48 groups. Rep. Carl Vinson (D. Ga.), Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, announced that at Air Secretary Symington's request he will introduce a bill calling for a 70-group force.

On the President's request for a $4,000,000 increase in taxes, to come from corporations and top and middle income groups, Republicans like Taber of New York and Taft of Ohio were joined by economy-minded Democrats in announcing that they will fight any tax boosts.

MORE TALK, MORE DOUGH. In the Senate a battle was brewing on the question of the filibuster.

Seventeen Southerners were banding together to preserve their power to talk to death any legislation they don't like. Senate Rules Committee hearings on the matter were set for Jan. 24.

First order of business in the new Congress was the President's pay boost from $75,000 to $100,000 a year with an extra $50,000 for expenses. Salaries for the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House and Cabinet members were also to be increased under the bill, which passed the Senate on Thursday, and was to be rushed to the House for immediate action.

THE AUTHOR SPEAKS. The biggest fight of all was shaping up on the Taft-Hartley Law.

AFL and CIO leaders were pressing for immediate repeal and reinstatement of the Wagner Act. Congressional leaders favored leaving the Taft-Hartley Law on the books until an amended labor law—including restrictions on labor proposed by the President—could be readied.

Union chiefs were meeting with Sen. Elbert Thomas of Utah, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, and Rep. John Lesinski of Michigan, chairman of the House Labor Committee, but they got no definite commitments.

Sen. Taft of Ohio, however, was very definite. Labor's plan for immediate repeal, he said, is "idiotic."

This is Scott Lucas

The man who was always wrong on the right bills

By James Haddon

WASHINGTON

THERE will be a new face on the aisle down front in the Senate chamber on Jan. 20 when Sen. Barkley moves up to the presiding officer's chair. Scott W. Lucas of Illinois is the new Senate majority leader.

The majority leaders are the President's right arm on Capitol Hill, one in the Senate and the other in the House (Rep. John McCormack of Massachusetts). They are the men expected to maneuver the Administration's program through Congress.

Judging from the record, Truman's team may go into the 81st Congress with a Senate pitcher who has a sore right arm. Up to the present, the platform on which President Truman was elected and the voting scoreboard of Lucas (he is known as "the best-dressed man in the Senate") just don't match. They don't match on labor legislation or civil rights, two of the key issues of the campaign; nor on taxes, a secondary issue in the campaign which will probably assume major importance in Congress.

ALWAYS WRONG. Lucas, although he represents highly industrialized Illinois, has an anti-labor voting record that reaches way back before the days when it was considered fashionable to vote for union-busting measures.

In 1943 Lucas voted for the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill which President Roosevelt vetoed. In 1946 he voted for the Case anti-union bill which President Truman vetoed and for the Truman draft-labor bill which never came to a vote in the House. In 1947 Lucas voted for the Taft-Hartley Act, and it was only after the fight was lost that he switched to support the veto.

There have been only two real votes on civil rights in the Senate in the last decade. They were the vote to shut off the filibuster on the anti-poll tax bill in 1942, and the vote on the seating of Bilbo in 1947. Lucas voted against cloture. Going into the 1944 elections Lucas said he had changed his mind and would henceforth support cloture, but in 1947 he voted to seat Bilbo.

HELP THE GREEDY. On the tax issue, Lucas and Rep. Knutson, the discarded Republican tax theoretician, see eye to eye.

When Roosevelt sought a $25,000 limitation on salaries in 1943, Lucas fought it.

When Roosevelt vetoed the 1943 tax bill, calling it "not a tax bill, but a tax-relief bill providing relief not for the needy but for the greedy," Lucas voted to override.

When Truman vetoed the Knutson-GOP tax steal in the 80th Congress, Lucas stood with the GOP.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

in U.S. policy. In the Soviet zone, **Neues Deutschland,** the organ of the Communist Party, commented tentatively: "We would like to interpret the appointment of Acheson as a step to—let us say—serious consciousness."

The left-wing **Republica d'Italia** in Rome had few hopes: "A zealot of the so-called strong policy toward Russia and an inflamed anti-communist, he appears not ill-suited to insure that continuity of American foreign policy that Secretary Marshall has directed for the last two years."

At the end of the week it seemed certain that Acheson would get the job.

GRADE CROSSING. Seeking clues to his idea of the job, some recalled his speech delivered at Harvard in 1946. He said: "To conduct our own affairs with passable restraint and judgement—the type of judgement, as Justice Brandeis used to say, which leads a man not to stand in front of a locomotive—will be an achievement."

•

Defense Secretary James E. Forrestal, who has been rumored in and out of the cabinet time and again, told newsmen last week: "I expect to remain a victim on the Washington scene." It was his way of announcing that he would probably keep his job.

Last week he gave little evidence of any retirement plans. He prepared to ask Congress for the right to dispatch "military missions" to any part of the world at any time.

•

The President, too, prepared to take office again this week and the capital's businessmen looked forward to the rush of Inaugural Day on Thursday.

A union fights

FROM Portland, Ore., last Nov. 27 came this ultimatum: "The CIO Executive Board . . . directs the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America (CIO) to take immediate steps to affiliate with the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (CIO). If at the end of 60 days amalgamation is not consummated as provided for herein, the CIO Executive Board will act to implement this decision."

Last week Forrest Emerson, publicity director of FE, wrote to GUARDIAN: "Trust the rape now under way will command some attention. We don't aim to lean back and enjoy it."

UP TO THE MEMBERS. FE's Executive Board announced that, ultimatum or no, the question would have to wait for the membership's decision at their March convention.

Rank and file reaction was swift and emphatic. A telegram from one local read: "Dear Sir: The amalgamation idea with the UAW stinks. Hitler's dead." Others were more formal.

The CIO Executive Board had established a committee to consummate the merger. On it were Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers' Union, and Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. FE President Grant W. Oakes answered their summons to appear at a session at Chicago's Shoreland Hotel.

Continued in wide column on next page.

Drawing by Stefanelli

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

NO STATUS. Trim and vigorous, Oakes strode into the the meeting room and said:

"So that there shall be no misunderstanding from the outset, let me say on behalf of my fellow officers of FE-CIO, that your committee carries absolutely no status with our organization.

"My appearance is permitted solely out of common courtesy to individual officers of CIO affiliates. Our local unions have endorsed a forthright rejection of any and all Pearl Harbor ultimatums to disband our union. . . .

"To register here the profound indignation of our membership towards this unprecedented attack on the autonomy of international unions would merely belabor the point. As a consequence I don't propose to debate these facts.

"Actually our local unions have specifically forbidden me to discuss this or any other matter with you. I am more than happy to comply with their wishes.

"May I take this opportunity to inform you gentlemen that our union has a long history of experiences in repelling disruptive forces who would seek to bypass the desires, the objectives and the well-being of our membership. We are just as determined to do it again, and just as successfully.

"Our union has pressing business before it, such as preparation for a fourth round of wage increases, the fight for a pension plan, the improvement of our contracts, the fight against phony speed-up plans, a genuine repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, etc. We shall not be side-tracked by union wrecking vendettas. . . .

"Good day, gentlemen."

The FE has been branded as left wing by the Executive Board. Grant Oakes has retorted: "The company is the right wing."

WHEN IN DOUBT, ORGANIZE. Another union singled out for attack by the CIO Board—the United Office and Professional Workers—registered its defiance at a membership meeting in New York last week.

UOPWA announced that it would not yield its right to organize in its field. Conference delegates mapped plans to raise $100,000 to launch its drive.

The CIO Executive Board was set to consider all this when it meets in Washington on Jan. 25.

Woof! WFTU

TO WALK OR NOT TO WALK. The CIO Executive Board was finding obstacles, too, in its "foreign policy" last week. Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey was in London conferring with Vincent Tewson, general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress.

Carey had left the country with the avowed intention of walking out of the World Federation of Trade Unions, taking the TUC with him. The WFTU was formed in 1945 to match in its own field the U.N.'s blooming optimism. Its affiliates in all countries now total 70,000,000 members.

Carey's walk, which he predicted would destroy the WFTU, was set to be taken at today's session of the organization's executive bureau in Paris. But during the week Carey had been weighted with words of caution by his British counterparts.

TUC leaders had persuaded him to go easy until anti-Communist labor leaders on the Continent could be rallied to their support and plans made for a new world labor group based on anti-communism. Tewson also cautioned Carey that British labor was stubborn. It was not given to "radical changes," he said. Furthermore, it was far more imbued with feelings of international labor solidarity than were Americans.

As if sympathetically reading their thoughts across the Channel, Irving Brown, AFL European representative

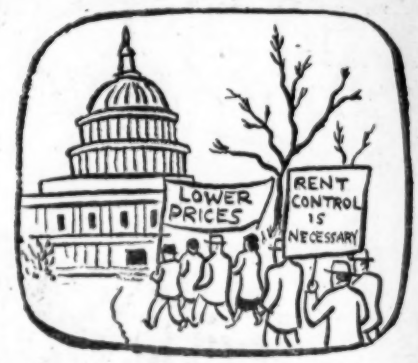
Continued in wide column on next page.

N. Y. State ALP and Progressive groups joining

THE American Labor Party and other Progressive Party units in N.Y. State took official steps to join forces last week. More than 100 representatives from every county in the State attended a conference at Albany County ALP headquarters, which approved unanimously proposals for a 150-person ALP State executive committee involving all groups active in the Wallace-Taylor campaign.

Also approved was a 21-person administrative committee headed by Rep. Vito Marcantonio, state ALP chairman, and including Paul Ross, O. John Rogge, Rev. Elder Hawkins, Shirley Grahame, Ada B. Jackson, Leo Isacson and Eugene P. Connolly.

A comprehensive program for state-wide action was adopted, with emphasis on immediate improvement of state unemployment insurance and workman's compensation laws;



opposition to proposed permanent increases in telephone rates; and an increase of at least $60,000,000 in state aid to education as well as passage of a federal aid to education bill with provision for funds for new school construction.

ORGANIZATION. Plans were adopted for a statewide membership and financing project, to be conducted among an expected 200,000 or more ALP enrollment as a result of the 1948 campaign. The campaign will begin in mid-March and will seek to sign up ALP enrollees for minimum membership fees of $1. ALP-Progressive club canvassers will undertake to establish a statewide corps of election-district captains during the drive.

NAME? The Progressive Party in N.Y. will continue to be known as ALP while legal involvements of a change in name are studied. With virtually no dissent, N.Y. Progressives want to retain their "Row C" ALP designation on State voting machines, which might be lost if the ALP name were discarded. Well over 500,000 votes were rolled up in the 1948 election on Row C. The ALP has maintained "third party" strength in the State for more than a decade.

What it takes

Five delegates motoring from Syracuse to the state ALP-Progressive Party meeting in Albany Sunday morning, Jan. 9, skidded on an icy stretch of highway, overturning their car. A woman passenger was treated for a broken collar bone, after which all five continued on their way to Albany and sat through the meeting to the end.

Shocking disease rise, widespread layoffs revealed by conferees

MOST shocking charge heard at the N.Y. State ALP-Progressive conference was the report that sufferers from radioactive materials poisoning in upstate electronics plants are prevented by fear of security regulations from reporting illness to their own physicians.

Silicosis (rotting of the lungs caused by inhaling industrial dust) was reported on the rise in the Elmira area, where 90 workers in a single plant have contracted the disease. Only 12 have been found eligible for compensation benefits. Others fear to complain of symptoms for fear of being fired.

Specific ALP-Progressive program on workmen's compensation calls for tightened safety regulations; compensation increases from $16 minimum to $36 weekly with additional benefits of $5 per dependent up to three; requirement that compensation insurance be dispensed through state insurance funds rather than private insurance companies; and extension of coverage to all industries and employees in the State.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN intends to print news of all important state and regional Progressive Party meetings and campaigns. Remind your state and regional officers to send full reports to the GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N.Y.

REPORTS of representatives from upstate industrial areas warned of growing unemployment in the Schenectady and Syracuse areas, a developing pattern of layoffs and rehiring at lower standards, and impending moves by major industries to other countries.

Remington-Rand will close its Syracuse plant in February and move the equipment to Scotland.

General Electric was reported shifting contracts from N.Y. plants to Johannesburg, South Africa.

Upstate delegates said they would seek a U.S. Senate investigation of the possible connection between these moves and the Marshall Plan.

Total unemployment in the Syracuse area alone — where the L. C. Smith-Corona plant threatens to shut down — was estimated at 10,000. (Later last week the N.Y. State Unemployment Insurance revealed that 58,000 additional persons began receiving unemployment benefits during the first week of 1949, bringing the State total for the period to 468,000.

Speed-ups in the area were credited with bringing about 5-10% employment cuts in plants operating at capacity. (Later last week the ALP charged that speed-ups in industry and failure to enforce safety provisions throughout the State were responsible for the record high of 818,694 industrial accidents in 1948).

The Rochester area reported 6,000 unemployed and a similar pattern of layoffs and rehiring at lower standards in major industries.

Both Syracuse and Rochester plan to make these issues, plus housing shortages, rent rollbacks and moratorium on evictions the basis for challenges to the major parties in municipal campaigns this year.

Charles B. Whitnall

MILWAUKEE

Last week this city mourned the death of one of its favorite and best-loved citizens, Charles B. Whitnall.

All the newspapers published long and stirring eulogies of the man and his work without mentioning the one thing that was a natural climax to a long life of useful service: he was one of Henry Wallace's earliest supporters and honorary chairman of the People's Progressive Party of Wisconsin.

Whitnall was 89 when he died and was known as "the father of the Milwaukee County park system."

He formed the National Assn. of Florists in 1884 and was the originator of flower deliveries by telegraph.

In the early days he was a member of the Socialist Party and in 1910 was elected city treasurer on that party's ticket. He was a progressive all his life, and his faith in people and in progress never faltered.

That was the one thing the press—lavish in its praise of Charles B. Whitnall—could not say about him. **Michael Essin**

"Think we ought to make it, J. Z.? . . . Might keep us from being Un-Americanized."

Lester Cole

Make one for us, he said--and the H'wood Ten will

(Lester Cole is one of the "Hollywood Ten" charged with contempt of Congress for refusing to reveal his political affiliation to the Un-American Activities Committee. He won his suit in a Los Angeles court against Loew's Inc. (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer), which broke their contract with him after the Thomas "purge."—Ed.)

HOLLYWOOD

THE first test case following the Hollywood witch-hunt and purge has been won. The "Hollywood Ten" have been congratulated on our victory in person, by telephone, by mail from all over the country.

These congratulations are premature. The blacklist remains in force. None of us has gone back to work, and there has been no indication of any willingness on the part of the producing corporations to settle. Loew's Inc. has announced its intention to appeal the decision in my case to the highest courts.

We have long since exhausted our own resources in this expensive cause. We have to depend on contributions to fight the forthcoming civil suits and the government's contempt prosecutions. The latter may have to be fought through the Court of Appeals to the U.S. Supreme Court.

INOCULATED. But despite the length of the trials and the expense involved, what happened in that Los Angeles court last month is a heartening sign of the immunity of many ordinary Americans against epidemic hysteria.

I don't believe any American jury has ever been submitted to such a barrage of inflammatory red-baiting as the 12 men and women who sat in that jury box. Attorneys for Loew's Inc. drew pictures of human monsters who were destroying the entire fabric of American life, not only in the films but throughout the schools and educational and cultural institutions. They called upon the jury to help them—this stalwart Delaware corporation—to stem the barbaric tide.

The jury was made up of a cross-section of American people. There were a retired school teacher from Iowa, a housewife, a Negro manual worker, employees of corporations and other plain people.

After four hours of deliberation they astonished the corporation and stunned the newspapers and status quo periodicals with their verdict. They held unanimously that a man is not held in contempt by the American people, regardless of his political beliefs, when he stands up and defends the Bill of Rights against unconstitutional bodies. Specifically they upheld my action before the Thomas Committee, and said in effect that it was not only my right to answer Thomas as I did but my duty as an American.

THEIR FIGHT TOO. I was deeply moved by the verdict of this jury and spoke to all of the members afterwards. I attempted to thank them for what I believed was a most important decision. They seemed as happy as I was.

The elderly school teacher from Iowa told me that my stand on Americanism, as it was brought out in the testimony, was one that she had taught for 40 years to her pupils in her little school in Iowa.

The young Negro, when I attempted to thank him, replied: "I want to thank you. I could see that you were fighting not only for yourself but for all my people too."

There was an electrician who said: "After listening to this case I know that if you and the others had not stopped the Thomas Committee in Washington a year ago, they would be out here in Los Angeles putting us on the stand today."

"ONE FOR US." When I left the courtroom it was after 7 p.m. Six Negro men and women, those who clean the building, had been sitting in the back of the courtroom. They were waiting, I thought, until the verdict came in and we cleared out so that they could get on with their work.

But when I stepped into the hallway they came toward me smiling, and a strong young woman shook my hand and said: "Maybe you won't believe this, Mr. Cole, but we feel that jury's verdict was as much a victory for us as it was for you."

We all shook hands and one of the men said: "I suppose you will now be going back to make more pictures." I replied I hoped that would be the case.

He said: "When you do get back to work make one for us, will you?"

BACK TO WORK. We don't know how long it will take to win this case, but we know we must redouble our efforts. We must get back to work. We have got to make more than just "one for them." We must make many more for 100,000,000 Americans like them.

The jury's decision said in no uncertain terms that they want us back at work, making the kind of pictures which are not only entertainment but meaningful in terms of the world in which we live.

That's our responsibility. We hope to live up to it.

A Correction

The following letter has been sent to the editor of "Soviet Art," Moscow, through the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions:

Dear Sir:

A news item appeared in the **N.Y. Times** of Jan. 11 quoting an editorial which appeared in your publication. If correctly quoted, I beg to call to your attention that in one respect, with which I am familiar, the quotation does not correspond with the facts.

I take no issue with that section of the quotation which describes Mr. Eric Johnston as a man with "the face of a model and the smile of a toothpaste advertisement." Each of us who has seen Mr. Johnston does so through his own eyes.

But the quotation goes on to say that Mr. Johnston, in cooperation with the House Un-American Committee, "forced ten of Hollywood's biggest directors and script writers to flee from Hollywood." This is not correct. We have not fled. On the contrary we are very much there. And we are determined to remain and to make films, and will make them long after Mr. Eric Johnston has been forced to flee back to a small town in the state of Washington, and tend to whatever business he owns there.

I would appreciate your giving space in your publication to this correction.

Cordially yours,

Lester Cole

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

in Brussels, called for immediate "burial" of WFTU and its replacement by a new "non-communist international labor organization."

The AFL has always refused to join WFTU on the grounds that it included Russians.

Trial of the '12'

ATTORNEYS defending the 12 leaders of the Communist Party prepared last week to block the trial set to open in New York's Federal Court today. They planned to move that the indictments against the men be dismissed on the grounds that the Grand Jury was selected from a "penthouse panel," which excluded the poor, the radical and those marked as members of minorities.

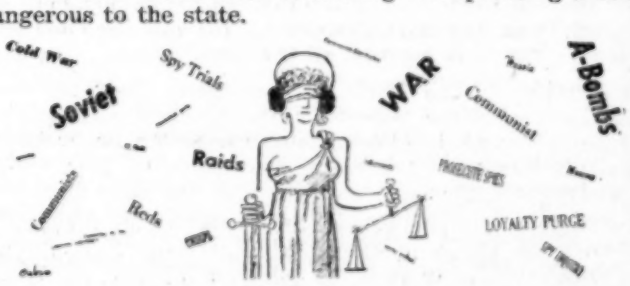
They had tried to argue that point before the U. S. Supreme Court but were told that the New York Federal Court was the proper place for such a motion.

The lawyers had also asked for a 90-day delay in the trial on two grounds: William Z. Foster, one of the Party's secretaries, is ill.

Defense also pointed to the continuing anti-Communist tone of newspapers, radio broadcasts, and government pronouncements. They claimed that a fair trial in such an atmosphere would be impossible.

When the week ended the atmosphere remained the same. Motions to postpone had been rejected, and the prosecution seemed determined to try the case.

The men are accused of holding and spreading a belief dangerous to the state.



Thompson case

INNOCENT. On Nov. 20 Robert J. Burke, a private detective, broke into the home of N. Y. State Communist Party Chairman Robert Thompson. The Thompsons were at a movie. Guarding their seven-year-old daughter were two sitters, both Negro. They testified that Burke exposed himself indecently to the child, seized her and took her into the bathroom. The sitters rescued the girl and drove Burke out.

Burke declared that he entered Thompson's home to give the Communist "a hard time." He was tried on Dec. 27 and found guilty of impairing the morals of a minor and indecent exposure. But before he came up for sentence the Assistant District Attorney reported that the transcript contained an error of one word. That entitled Burke to a re-trial.

His second trial came last week before three judges of a Special Sessions Court. The doctor who examined the child after the incident testified that she had a "bruised buttock," was "over-excited, fearful and over-talkative."

The trial was stormy. The Negro sitters were brusquely treated, rigorously cross-examined by the judges. The same evidence was presented that led to a verdict of guilty on Burke's first trial. The three judges acquitted him on all counts. He is at liberty.

6 - 12 - 10. The Trenton Six, the Communist Party Twelve, the Hollywood Ten, the case of Mrs. Mallard were being listed on an agenda last week by the Civil Rights Congress. The organization was preparing to rally many thousands to the nation's capital.

Today was set aside for a civil rights conference. Tomorrow the conferees, reinforced by fresh contingents, were to embark on a "Freedom Crusade." Congressmen were to be lobbied directly, forcefully, en masse.

Some Congressmen announced that they would not wait to be lobbied at their offices but would meet the Crusaders half way. Those scheduled to address the Civil Rights rally were Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.), Rep. Adolph Sabath (D-Ill.), Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.). Other speakers slated were Mrs. Bessie Mitchell, sister of Collis English, one of the Trenton Six, Lester Cole, screen writer and one of the Hollywood Ten, George Murphy of the Progressive Party and Mrs. Mallard.

Continued in wide column on next page.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

ALABAMA VS. GEORGIA. Three years ago Alabama voters ratified an amendment to their State's constitution which provided that, in order to qualify for the ballot, every prospective voter must interpret the Constitution of the United States to the satisfaction of the registrars.

In practice, only Negroes were asked to comply. Few of their interpretations satisfied the registrars. Registrars in Alabama are white.

Last week three Federal judges, all Alabama-born, ruled the amendment unconstitutional. They said it had been "arbitrarily used for the purpose of excluding Negro applicants from the franchise."

The amendment, termed the Boswell amendment, had set a pattern which Georgians were ready to emulate in this session of the Legislature. Following the Alabama upset, Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia was reported ready to revive the poll-tax in his state.

HAPPENS ALL THE TIME. Six months ago T. Barton Akeley, a professor of political science at Olivet College, Mich., and his wife, a librarian at the school, were fired. Trustees had formally accused the professor of entertaining "ultra-liberal views."

The dismissals met with angry protests from students and from some of the faculty led by Dr. Tucker P. Smith, head of the Olivet Teachers' Union (AFL) and Socialist Party candidate for vice-president.

In time the protests died down. Last week Dr. Smith and three others were told that their contracts would not be renewed in June.

Said Dean James F. Mathias: "We just decided we wanted a change. It happens all the time."

ONE DOWN. In the State of Washington the little Un-American Committee known as the Canwell Committee went out of existence Monday along with the Legislature that established it.

The fight against reconstitution of the committee in the new state legislature is handicapped, GUARDIAN correspondent Terry Pettus pointed out, by efforts to set up "safeguards" for a new committee. The "reform" movement is sponsored chiefly by Americans for Democratic Action.

WORLD ROUNDUP

The Middle East

THE U.S. News and World Report last week summed up the Palestine situation this way: "Problem for British, U.S. diplomats is to walk the tightrope between Arab-Jewish hostility, somehow mediate a peace, then wrap up the bases and the oil."

But last week the British and Americans were throwing unkind looks at each other as they did their balancing act. And the Arabs seemed at least as angry with themselves and the British as with the Jews. Policies were losing their former simplicity.

The upsetting fact was that the Jews had all but won their war. Alongside that fact immediate incidents paled. It did not matter quite so much that five RAF aircraft had been shot down over Israel. (The British Foreign Office clung to the story that the planes were over Egypt, not Israel, but one of the fallen British pilots said that he knew he was on a photographic mission and knew he was over Israel.)

METRIC SYSTEM. It did not matter quite so much that the Israelis had admitted penetrating 35 miles into Egypt. The British measured their advance another way. They figured that the Jews had come within 80 miles of the Suez Canal.

The strength of the Jews was the significant, unexpected factor in the situation. Writing from London in the **N. Y. Times,** Herbert L. Matthews said: "The Arabs control the oil. The British consider it dangerous to weaken the Arabs and permit the Israelis to go on expanding . . ."

With that thought in mind British troops moved up to Aqaba, Transjordan; British warships steamed toward Cyprus; RAF crews were alerted along the Suez. In Washington, British Ambassador Sir Oliver Franks conferred with President Truman.

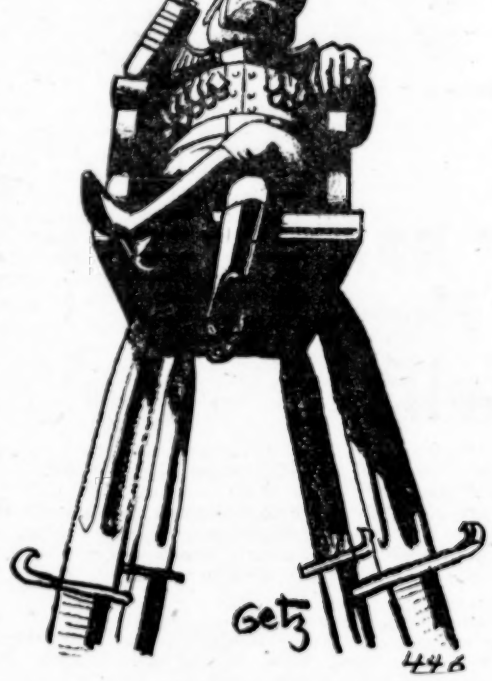
His instructions were to inform the President that in British eyes the Israelis were the aggressors; that unless the aggression ceased and order was restored to the Middle-East, only communism could benefit; that if Transjordan

Continued in wide column on next page.

Kumar Goshal

U.S. sheds crocodile tears and steel guns on 'poor Indonesia'

THE reaction of American liberals and government officials to the Dutch aggression in Indonesia has been very much like that of a middle-aged spinster who has suddenly been confronted with the facts of life.



The response is hardly justified, since a careful reading of the daily press and a proper analysis of U.S. policy toward the western European countries would have forced them to anticipate this Dutch aggression.

To keep the record straight, here are some facts taken from the back files of the N.Y. **Times,** the N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** the former newspaper **PM** and the March, 1946, issue of **Harper's Magazine.**

NO LABELS, PLEASE. On Aug. 17, 1945, the Indonesians declared their independence. The sudden collapse of Japan left the Dutch government unprepared to cope with the situation. Britain came to the rescue by sending an expeditionary force to Indonesia under General Christison.

Equipped with U.S. lend-lease arms, ammunition and even Red Cross material, these British troops, with the support of Japanese troops left behind, fought hard to restore Dutch rule over Indonesia.

When the Indonesians protested to Washington over their radio, Secretary of State Byrnes requested the British to please remove the labels from the American weapons before using them against the Indonesians.

The U.S. even trained and equipped thousands of Dutch marines in Norfolk and Camp Lejeune and sent them to Indonesia in American ships. On Oct. 3, 1945, General van Oyen took over command of the Dutch troops pouring into Indonesia. Swaggering, trigger-happy Dutch and mercenary Amboinese soldiers shot at people on the slightest provocation, raided Indonesian homes and dragged off the occupants without charges or warrants.

BIG STICK. But the Dutch were not strong enough to recover their colony by force. On Nov. 15, 1946, they signed a compromise agreement with the Indonesian Republic at Linggadjati, Java, specifically agreeing to arbitration in case of unsettled disputes.

Behind the smokescreen of negotiations, the Dutch feverishly made preparations for

ZILLIACUS: Ernie Bevin is just about B

By Konni Zilliacus
Labor M.P.

LONDON

PARLIAMENT reassembles at Westminster today. There will hardly be time for the formalities before members open fire from all sides on Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin.

When Bevin discussed British policy in the House of Commons last month, he was just back from three months' holiday and complete rest.

He sounded like a man who needed three months' complete rest and about three years' holiday.

He is the Labor Government's greatest failure on a scale approaching a national disaster and an international peril. Yet even those of us who are quite clear about this have been astounded by the dogged energy with which he kept going on the path he has chosen.

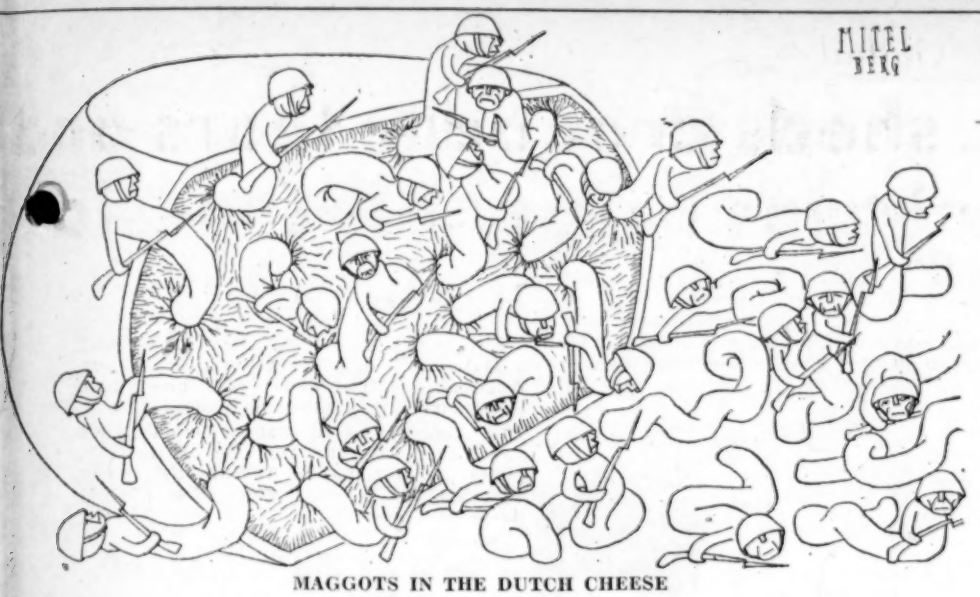
> *We are going in pawn to the United States, we are going cap in hand to the New York bankers.*
>
> *I think it is the most deadly thing in British history. Rather than do that, if I were a statesman, I would appeal to my people for the very last penny.*
>
> —Ernest Bevin, addressing a Malden Divisional Labor Party meeting on Aug. 20, 1931.

HAM ACTOR. For him the burden of office as Foreign Secretary has become a personal tragedy. It would be melodramatic to say that his job is killing him by inches, but it is certainly wearing him down.

The Bevin of yesteryear was a bouncing, despatch-box thumping, alternately roaring and cooing—and always ham-acting—pinchbeck Palmerston in a Keir Hardie cap. Today, think what one may of him as Foreign Secretary, there are no two opinions about the fact that he is subdued, chastened, to all appearances profoundly tired.

The subjects Mr. Bevin did not mention in Commons included Palestine. But everyone else hastened to repair the omission during the debate.

The cartoonists have a field day with Bevin. We've picked a few which show the rotund Foreign Secretary in various guises. The first three (left to right), by Vicky of the London "News Chronicle," show him as the Mikado's Lord High Everything Else; a cricket champion, and as



MAGGOTS IN THE DUTCH CHEESE

war. On February 14, 1947, Lieut. Gen. S. H. Spoor told David Anderson of the N. Y. **Times**: "The policy I will follow is that of the late President Theodore Roosevelt: namely, soft words backed up by a big stick." In July, 1947, the Dutch broke the Linggadjati agreement, and launched a full military offensive.

India brought the issue to the attention of the U.N. despite the opposition of Britain and the U.S. Australia jumped to the support of the Indonesians with suspicious alacrity, and became their chief spokesman. The protests of the Australian delegate grew milder as the issue was discussed; eventually a resolution was passed, which did **not** contain a demand that the Dutch withdraw to the position they held before they launched their aggression.

DOLLARS AND TEARS. A U.N. Committee of Good Offices, composed of three colonial powers (U.S., Australia and Belgium), finally brought about the Renville agreement of January, 1948.

Once again the Dutch received a breathing spell. They continued to increase their strength, bolstered by Marshall Plan aid. The U.S. government allowed the Dutch to earmark 62,000,000 Marshall Plan dollars to be used in Indonesia.

When they felt strong enough, the Dutch again broke their agreement, and launched an all-out war on December 19, 1948.

This is an extremely brief summary of the facts that have appeared in the U.S. press. Even on this basis it is difficult to imagine that American liberals and government officials were completely unaware of Dutch actions and intentions.

In fact, U.S. policy toward the western European countries would compel Washington to support the Dutch against the Indonesians while shedding crocodile tears for the latter's suffering and verbally chiding the aggressors. There is no other alternative as long as Marshall Plan aid calls for the Netherlands' **economic recovery**, since the Netherlands' previous economy was based upon colonial possessions.

Only a program calling for the Netherlands' **economic reorganization** without colonial possessions could bring about a change in American policy.

FIGHT GOES ON. The recent U.N. resolution on Indonesia is just as phony as the previous one, since it does not call for the withdrawal of Dutch troops to their previous position.

A proper and trustworthy resolution would call for the withdrawal of Dutch troops to the positions they held before the Linggadjati agreement.

Unless there is a change in western European economy and U.S. policy toward it, the struggle in Indonesia and in other colonial countries can be fully expected to continue.

Britain's biggest national disaster

arious speakers told him, mong other things, not to be ulky," "peevish" and "obstine" about recognizing the solid d victorious existence of the ate of Israel — and the total scomfiture of his Arab allies d proteges whom he had inted and helped to take the law to their own hands.

LENCE GOLDEN. I pointed t that he had been wise to ss over the subject of Palesne in silence. "In Palestine," said, "he has managed—and must say, if I had not seen it th my own eyes I should have ought it would have been imssible—to alienate and separate us from the Dominions, the ited States, the Soviet Union, e United Nations, the Arabs d the Jews. A truly remarkle result."

I ventured to warn both the government and the opposition against "the dangerous assumption that our people are still stuck at the cannon-fodder level of citizenship; that they are still ready to fight in any war under any government against any odds and for any cause. I do not believe that our people are any more ready to do that than the workers of France and Italy. . . .

"Our people are not a Victorian Light Brigade that can be called on to do and die without asking the reason why, because some VIP's have blundered. If the government fail to carry out their pledges to make peace, and prove they cannot do the job the people ask them to do, then I think they may easily find themselves in the painful position of the man in the old song who was carrying a grand piano up the stairs. The song says that

He trod on a stair that wasn't there
And his day's work was done.

POLITICAL CORPSES. Some of our British leaders think they can take the Labor Party all the way into a war and a new coalition with the Tories for the purpose of fighting a war. They are going to run up against something that will surprise them when their purpose and destination become plain to the rank and file.

Such leaders are likely to become, politically speaking, what I understand are technically known as "loved ones," wearing a dazed expression on their peaceful pans.

The Christmas Fairy. The fourth, from "Davar" of Tel Aviv, presents Bevin blowing his favorite theme. The fifth, by Boris Eifimov, in the Moscow "Literary Gazette," shows him as a "Voice of America" drum. The sixth, by our R. Joyce, offers him as a "Loved One" (see story above).

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

is attacked in any way Britain will go to her defense; that British war preparations in the area will not be halted.

What the President had to say to Sir Oliver was not known, but in his press conferences the following day he denied that any Anglo-U.S. tension had developed. He said that he would stand by the U.S. position on Palestine laid down in the Security Council.

'Ill considered'

CONFUSING. Earlier the U.S. had counseled moderation on all sides and had revealed that it had not been consulted on British troop movements. Washington meticulously refrained from treating Israel as an aggressor.

Such a policy the British found confusing. In London Anthony Eden, former Foreign Secretary and Conservative Party spokesman, said: "Washington must take its share of the blame for the failure either to declare a policy or to take a firm line."

Though conservative Britons viewed American policy sourly, they did not spare their own government's share in the muddle. Eden described British Middle East policy as one of "confused purpose and ill-considered action."

Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin won his cabinet's support for both his purpose and his action and, thus armed, was ready to face his foes in Parliament this week (see **Zilliacus,** Page 6).

ANTI-JEWISH. Though the government's policy seemed clearly pro-Arab, a U.S. correspondent in London wrote: "The man in the street here is in no sense pro-Arab; he has never seen an Arab in his life. If he has any feeling it would be anti-Jewish."

Anti-Semitism in England, traditionally small, was growing. It was at its worst in Cairo, where 75,000 Jews were said to be threatened with extermination.

Not only were U.S. and Britain divided, but the Arabs, disgruntled and defeated, were at odds with themselves, Britain and U.S. In Beirut the newspaper **L'Orient** charged that the British had engineered the whole situation. They had given up the mandate, the newspaper said, submitted the question to the United Nations and so made it necessary for the Arab nations to depend on Britain for aid in war with Israel. In the end it had meant continued British domination.

King Farouk of Egypt, the Arab League's Mufti Haj Amin and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia favored calling off the whole war now. The Syrians and Lebanese were doubtful about it. The only really warlike spirit was discernible in Transjordan, loyal to the British Empire which gave it birth and still sustains its government.

In Baghdad

SUNSHINE PREMIER. In Baghdad Nuri Es Said Pasha resumed the premiership. He has held that office many times before, retiring when the Baghdad weather became uncomfortable and returning to office in more clement seasons. He was obliged to flee the country some years ago, after a treaty he negotiated with England was badly received by the public.

Last week, restored to power, he issued warlike statements; but GUARDIAN's U.N. correspondent, Marcelle Hitschmann, reported that Iraq's militancy was "a balloon inflated by British wind" and that it might soon collapse.

GOSSIP IN BAGHDAD. Gossip in the market places of Baghdad last week had it that King Farouk of Egypt, who recently divorced his royal Iranian bride, might soon marry the daughter of the Prime Minister of Lebanon. This was no mere romance but a first-rate political rumor, for Lebanon is a Christian country though its Prime Minister is Moslem. If Farouk married into so influential a Lebanese family, one effect might be to bind Lebanon more closely to the Arab world.

In Palestine itself the war was quiet.

In the Hotel Des Roses on the Island of Rhodes just off the coast of Turkey, Jews and Egyptians were cagily probing one another's intentions under the auspices of the U.N. mediator, Ralph Bunche. The Egyptians wanted to discuss military matters, chiefly the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the Negev. The Jews wanted to turn the discussion toward a political settlement. Bunche was willing to settle for what he could get.

JUST A TOKEN. Not forgotten in all this was the Sheik of Kuwait who rules a comfortable little land on the Persian Gulf. From Long Beach, Calif., last week the 195-foot gold-trimmed yacht Ahmady set sail for Kuwait.

Continued in wide column on next page.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from wide column on preceding page.

With it went two 26-foot motor launches also trimmed in gold. To refit the yacht and the little golden shore boats cost $1,000,000. They will come to the Sheik as a gift from a small group of American oil companies in gratitude for allowing them to drill for oil in his domain.

Indonesia aflame

THE Western World was further embarrassed last week by the war in Indonesia. The Dutch ambassador to the U.S., Dr. Eelco van Kleffens, said last week that the issue was simply one of freedom with order, or freedom without order. The Indonesians, he implied, were choosing freedom without order and the Dutch "feel it is their duty . . . to prevent disorderly conditions from becoming chronic, which can benefit only the Communists."

Just as the British felt that their opposition to Israel was justified by anti-communist strategy, so did the Dutch, and it grieved them no less than the British to hear themselves denounced for it by the self-proclaimed leader of the anti-communist world, the United States.

Dr. Philip C. Jessup, acting chief U. S. delegate to the U. N., asked for an end to Dutch occupation of Indonesian Republic territory; transfer of sovereignty from the Dutch to the United States of Indonesia (Dutch-sponsored), and free elections.

Dr. van Kleffens described Jessup's speech as "a variety of violent things, sometimes bordering on the intemperate."

At the week end Dr. Jessup was reported drafting a resolution embodying some of the "violent things." Gen. A. G. L. McNaughton of Canada was known to favor only a solution which would be practical, apparently meaning one which the Dutch might accept.

New Delhi

NEW DELHI PILGRIMAGE. Delegates from widely scattered capitals were making their way to New Delhi to answer the call of India's Prime Minister, Pandit Jawarharlal Nehru. They were to meet today to discuss Indonesia and perhaps other things. Invited nations included Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Ceylon, Siam, Burma, the Philippines, Australia, New Zealand and Chiang's China (which sent observers, not delegates).

Statesmen throughout the world were guarded in their comment but the N. Y. **Times** London correspondent wrote last week: "The British Government is well aware that the Indian Government is counting on a display of statesmanship by the Netherlands to smooth over the Indonesian situation, but what has encouraged them is the fact that India—despite her sympathy with the cause of Indonesian republicans—still is alive to the danger of communism and has indicated a willingness to join other Asiatic and European powers to combat it."

Walter Lippmann, authoritative conservative columnist, has advised the State Dept. to enter into "intimate consultation with Nehru about our whole course in China and Indonesia."

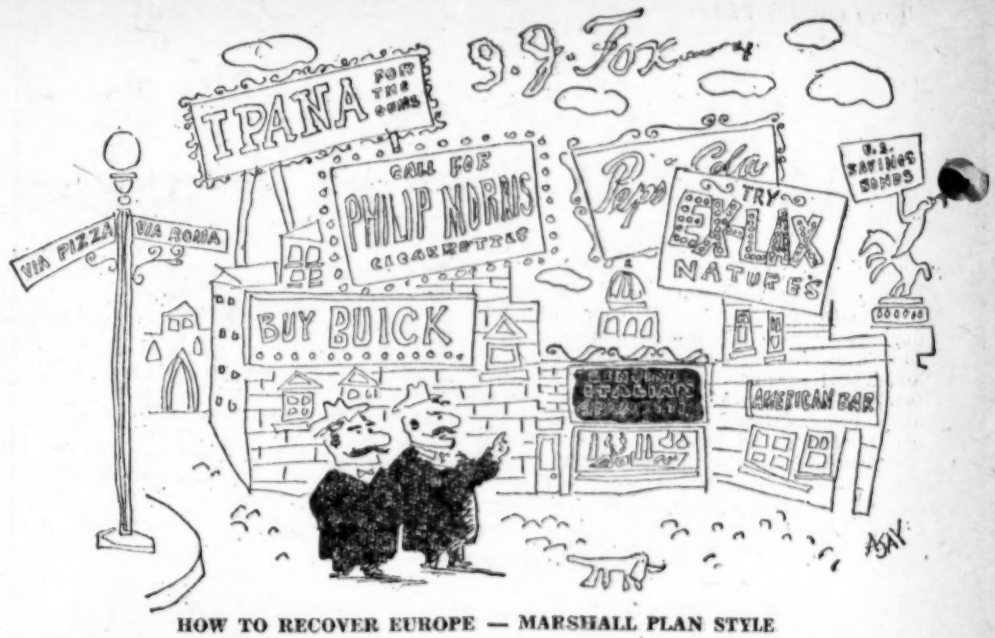
Western diplomacy has long been searching for an Asiatic leader with whom it could "intimately consult."

On the islands themselves guerrillas seemed to be everywhere at once, harrying the Dutch in widely scattered parts. On Friday it was reported that Dutch troops found it hard to maintain "order" even in the cities.

The Conditions

IN PEIPING shells were falling in the civil war. Government troops were reported chopping up its storied palaces for firewood. Communist troops stormed into Tientsin. Civil servants were streaming out of Nanking.

From Communist leader Mao Tse-tung came a list of conditions for peace: Cancel treaties with imperialist nations (U. S. has two treaties with China, granting commercial rights and extra-territoriality); confiscate "bureaucratic capital"; institute land reforms; eliminate reactionaries from authority; cancel the present constitution; form a new state council including everybody but reactionaries; try all war criminals, and change the Chinese calendar.



HOW TO RECOVER EUROPE — MARSHALL PLAN STYLE

"Look, Guiseppe — how in the world do you suppose he got a license to sell an Italian product?"

The fruits of war

Stable family life in Paraguay is still a dream 80 years after

WAR is hell, but the aftermath can be worse, according to a report by a United Nations investigator for the International Children's Emergency Fund.

Dr. Reginald Passmore of the University of Edinburgh, the U.N. official, made his report after a mission to Paraguay found that that country has never recovered from the disasters of an annihilating war fought more than 80 years ago.

In that war the Paraguayans fought so stubbornly against the Triple Alliance of Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay that when it was over only 25,000 Paraguayan males were left alive and most of these were old men and young boys.

A U.N. bulletin, commenting on the Passmore report, says: "It reads like a novelist's account of human society after the 'next war' except for one all-important difference. The real-life survivors did not set about building a 'brave new world' . . . instead they struggled against great odds to build back even a semblance of the old social order."

SOCIAL COLLAPSE. The most startling result of the decimation of the male population was a complete breakdown of family life, which still persists, according to Dr. Passmore. Women outnumbered men more than 10 to 1. "Under such circumstances," says the report, "neither the church nor state could hope to maintain monogamy. . . . Time has done much to reduce this disproportion of men and women, but family life has never recovered. . . ."

Biggest problem resulting from this state of affairs is illegitimacy. As late as 1940 in the capital city of Asuncion 57% of the births were illegitimate, and "in the country districts the proportion would be much higher." It is pointed out that under such circumstances a stable home life for most Paraguayan children is impossible.

Another consequence of the slaughter of 80 years ago is widespread poverty. The country lacks a population sufficiently large to develop its resources, and only a small percentage of the fertile land is under cultivation. In addition, the country cannot afford the "paraphernalia customary in a modern state" and public health, education and all social services suffer.

Max Werner

Arab League has fallen to pieces

THE military defeat of the Arab League in Palestine is a fact. Both the will to fight and the strategy of the Arab states have collapsed. Thus the pillar of British policy in the Middle East has fallen.

The failure of the Arab military organization was striking. At the end of the long communication lines the supply system did not work. There were guns without ammunition, ammunition without guns, soldiers without guns or ammunition.

No security precautions were taken. Arab intelligence did not function at all.

STRATEGY FOR DEFEAT. At a military conference in Amman in the first week of May, the Egyptian representative declared his army would take Tel Aviv in eight days. Then followed an outbidding in promises of the Arab blitz: the Syrians pledged to take Haifa and Galilee in ten days, the Iraqi pledged the breakthrough to the sea in 12 days, and the Transjordanians assured occupation of Jerusalem in two weeks.

HOLY WAR

Tvorba, Prague

With this realistic plan the Arab armies marched straight into defeat. Their actions were crippled by jealousies, quarrels and the incapacity to concentrate on a single front and the main objective. During the first battle of Negev, Egypt's King Farouk asked Transjordan to relieve his battered troops by an immediate offensive, whereupon King Abdullah answered with a telegram congratulating Farouk on the magnificent victories of the Egyptian troops.

Already in July the war of the Arab League ceased to be a war of coalition.

THE END. Finally Egypt rather feared than longed for British military help. The cautiousness with which the British Egyptian treaty of Alliance was **not** invoked was conspicuous.

Under these circumstances a plea for peace was the only means out of defeat.

Thus the development was completed: from the adventure of war, through defeat, to the disintegration of the Arab League.

LIVING & LEISURE

They PAY you to have a baby

By Beryl Storm

PRAGUE

WE had put off having a baby in South Africa where we lived all our lives, because our doctor had informed us that the baby would cost us about $400 (this included the layette). Well, $400 was something we never had at the time, so we decided that the baby would have to wait.

And then we came to work in Prague. Here we were at once entitled to all benefits which Czechoslovak workers receive. One of these was Health Insurance—and of course the "baby question" came up for discussion in a very short time! This time we found out that the baby would cost us nothing—in fact we would be paid for having it.

NO RED TAPE. When we were sure the baby was on the way, I went to a lady doctor friend, who had just taken over a nationalized—formerly private—sanatorium. She told me to get my insurance forms for examination and prenatal care from my husband's office. And that was the total amount of red-tape involved. From the very first examination up to the time the baby was born, all I had to do was to present myself monthly at the sanatorium, hand in my "legitimace" which the hospital had issued me, and undergo the routine checkups. (I also got extra milk, butter, eggs, meat—in fact with my pregnancy allowance we never felt the rationing at all.)

Before I tell you about the actual treatment in the sanatorium when the baby was born, I must tell you that not once was I kept waiting more than 15 minutes for an examination. The waiting room was brightly furnished, the doctors and nurses sympathetic, and the thoroughness with which I was examined has set any future doctors who might attend me a very high standard indeed.

"LIKE A LADY." Well, when the baby was born, I was put into a ward with two beds, green painted walls, central heating, floral curtains—and when I asked my doctor whether all the patients were so well treated she laughed at me. "Do you think we are doing this especially for you— because you're English? No, my dear girl, everyone in this country is entitled to the same treatment." And the woman in the other bed remarked: "You know, whether or not you have money, under our new system you can have a baby like a lady now."

I spent 12 days in the sanatorium—and we never had to give up any ration coupons. The food was marvelous. Really comparable to the best hotel food. In the 12 days I was there, the menu was never once repeated.

TWICE A DAY. For those patients who need special drugs, these were administered. If you were in pain, you got an injection. If you had complications, the doctor was in constant attendance. We were visited twice a day by the head doctor and assistant doctor. All were qualified practitioners.

And when I left, instead of being presented with the bill, I was given a certificate from the hospital and told that if I presented it to a certain department in Prague, I would receive one thousand Kcs ($20)—as a present from the Government for every baby born within the Two Year Plan.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

This week the Dollar Stretcher presents some good tips from Consumers Union on products they have tested in their laboratories:

Waffle irons

YOU need spend only $8.49 plus postage to get a good thermostat-equipped waffle iron, CU found after testing 29 waffle irons ranging in price from $4.95 to $27.95. The "Best Buy," costing $8.49, was only slightly inferior to the best waffle irons tested, which list at $17.95.

CU technicians offer some do's and don'ts for baking waffles: use the right amount of batter; if waffles stick even when grids are hot enough, use more shortening; close iron immediately after pouring batter; don't use soap, alkali or water on the grids, clean them dry with a stiff brush.

According to CU, the "best buys" are **Ward's** Cat. No. 2211L, $8.49 plus shipping and Cat. No. 2216L (twin waffle iron) $12.50 plus shipping. Best in overall quality are **Westinghouse** WSA-24, $17.95 and **General Electric** 129W9, $17.95.

Land camera

LIKE the photographer who used to stand on street corners, snap your picture and in a few minutes give you the finished product, you can get a print in just one minute if you use the new **Land** camera.

According to **Consumer Reports**, while the **Land** camera ($89.50) in its present form is not going to revolutionize the technique of picture-making, it does offer a real advantage. However, while you can take the finished picture out of the camera a minute after the film is exposed, you cannot get duplicate prints and the exposure has to be exactly right to give a good picture. Add to this the fact that the pictures cost about 22c each for a 2⅞ x 3¾-inch sepia tone print.

Dishtowels

SINCE most dishtowels are sold either unlabeled or with a brand name covering a whole line of towels of different quality, CU tested only dishtowels sold by mail order, which consumers can buy with some assurance of getting the towels they specify. The tests included towels sold by Sears, Montgomery Ward, Alden and Spiegel.

The "best buy" towel was **Startex** (Spiegel, Chicago 9, Ill.), Cat. No. 6568, 4 for 98c. The highest quality towel was **Startex** (Sears, Roebuck & Co.), Cat. No. 8553, 4 for $1.25, followed by **Startex** (Sears), Cat. No. 8712, 4 for $1.45.

Instant tea

IF YOU are not a connoisseur, and convenience and economy appeal to you, **Nestea** (51c) or **Tender Leaf** (41c) may be your dish of tea. Handier, less messy and quicker to use than tea bags or bulk tea, these instant teas each cost about .8c per serving against about 1.2c for a cup made from a **Tender Leaf** tea bag.

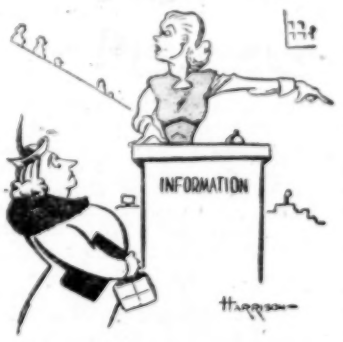
Instant teas also make it possible for you to get a cup of the same strength each time, once you find the proportions that suit you.

Corn on the platter

MINNEAPOLIS

Station WMIN listeners had been writing-in to complain that they couldn't hear disc jockey Sev Widman's program because too many station officials were frying bacon or pacing along gravel paths during the broadcast.

The noise was traced to disc jockey Widman. He is a popcorn-muncher. Widman is now looking for another outlet.



"The $7.98 dresses are found on the $8.98 counter."

Lifelines

HORRORS! NO RUNS. London drapers (English for people in the clothing business) are alarmed because a new type of nylon stocking has been developed that won't wear out.

The **Drapers Record**, a trade journal, reports this disturbing result of tests with the new product: after six months of daily wear no sign of tear is apparent. "It is being suggested," suggests **Drapers' Record**, "that while production of spun nylon is so small, the trade should fix standards so that conrol of the fiber can be exercised as soon as it becomes commercially available."

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MASH NOTE. There's a farm down in Virginia which is the home of a small whisky mill, and not one of the farm animals—450 cattle, 250 hogs and 50 horses—has ever had a drink of water. The cows give more milk, the steers betters steaks, the hogs get fatter and the horses are friskier than animals on a blue nose farm.

No, they don't drink bourbon straight, but they are fed wet mash from the distillery. They don't need water because they get enough liquid from the mash to keep them happy.

The animals like the diet. When one of the farm horses was sold to a neighbor, the new owner had to keep him tied up so he wouldn't go back home for lunch.

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When you finish with this copy, give it to somebody else who may subscribe.

Do you want to know what you really are?

LAST September we read about a new magazine that was coming out, called **Nation's Heritage.**

The ads announced that it would "help you say, 'This is what I am.' It will be a people's magazine."

We were excited. We wanted to know what we were. We looked for this voice of the people to appear during the election campaign—to help us sweep out of Washington the donkeys and elephants who don't know what **they** are.

But not until last week was the magazine born—in that well-known maternity ward of noble projects, New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

THAT'S INFLATION. We rushed down there and heard president Thomas D'Arcy Brophy of the American Heritage Foundation, after a good lunch, announce that **Nation's Heritage** would "carry on the work of reassuring Americans."

We want to be reassured. We asked a soft-spoken young man for a copy. With an effort he lifted a long brown carton from a table, explaining: "It weighs seven pounds."

The price of reassurance has gone up like everything else. It retails at $4.28 a pound. Appearing every two months, **Nation's Heritage** costs $30 an issue. You save $10 by subscribing for a year—only $150.

It's about 50% bigger than **Fortune**, about three times as thick, and is bound in linen. The first issue has 389 illustrations, mostly in full color.

SELECTED ROOTS. "It is not what might be called an NAM version of America," said publisher Malcolm Forbes at the Waldorf-Astoria party. Emphasizing this, the list of charter subscribers includes J. P. Morgan, General Electric, Standard Oil and Henry Luce. Mr. Forbes said he was out to "develop a 'grass roots' interest" for "history's highest-priced magazine."

Don't run down to the corner news-stand for your first copy. They don't have it. It will be sold only at **selected bookstores.** If you must have one, don't forget to bring the Cadillac and chauffeur to tote it away.

Willard Hoff

(We know of a better buy at $29.90 less. 13.1 GUARDIANS go to the lb.—Ed.)

Where do you feel the pain?

WASHINGTON

First rumblings of revolt in the American Medical Assn. against a compulsory tax of $25 per member for a fund to fight national health insurance were heard here last week. The Medical Society of the District of Columbia called a special meeting to express hostility to the move.

Members criticized the manner in which the assessment was decided upon and asked why a referendum couldn't be taken. Others pointedly wanted to know what will happen to members who refuse to pay the levy.

This is the Voice of Freedom—watchdog of the airways

SMALL but articulate out of all ratio to its size, a volunteer organization known as the Voice of Freedom Committee serves unofficially as a watchdog of radio.

From Maine to California, volunteer monitors man nearly 2,000 listening posts, covering the more important commentators, recording their virtues and delinquencies and pointing them out sharply in a flood of letters to the newsmen themselves, their stations or networks, and their sponsors. Monitors unlimited are still needed.

Favorite targets are such avowed enemies as Fulton Lewis Jr., Gabriel Heatter, Henry Taylor and Kate Smith, at whom they fire a merciless barrage of protests over distorted facts and unwarranted prejudices. On the other hand, the committee hotly defends liberal newscasters forced—or en route—to oblivion.

"It's getting so that you can't even suggest dropping an atom bomb without being called a war monger."

SELLING PUMPERNICKEL. The Committee took shape some two years ago, when liberal commentators were being driven off the air. Its moving spirit, authoress Dorothy Parker, had the support of such people as Leonard Bernstein, Henrietta Buckmaster, Paul Draper, Dashiell Hammett, Donald Ogden Stewart, Langston Hughes, Rockwell Kent, Mrs. L. C. Perera Jr., Edward G. Robinson, Robert St. John and Orson Welles. It held its first public rally in May, 1947, to protest CBS's dismissal of William L. Shirer. It was directly responsible for Shirer's return to the air.

When the Stuhmer Baking Co. of New York announced that it was ending its sponsorship of William S. Gailmor, who for seven years had analyzed the news over WHN (now WMGM), VOF asked the Stuhmer people, Why?

Stuhmer pumpernickel was not selling in two Bronx districts, the Stuhmer people said. VOF monitors in these districts went to work; presently Stuhmer couldn't fill all the orders there for pumpernickel. But Gailmor was dropped anyway.

VOF probed for the inside story, finally learned from an advertising executive that the Stuhmer Co. were satisfied with Gailmor. They had been forced by the station to drop him, and no other New York station would sell air time to them for a Gailmor program. Although VOF couldn't keep Gailmor on the air, it uncovered the source of the pressures against progressive commentators.

PHONE BARRAGE. But VOF was effective in breaking a deliberately-planned radio silence concerning the Mundt-Nixon Bill against freedom of thought. Monitors found that radio commentators and newsmen were not mentioning the bill. VOF insisted that station owners were duty-bound to give their listeners a comprehensive explanation of the bill and its implications.

Monitors everywhere bombarded stations to give adequate coverage to the bill. In New York and New Jersey 900 monitors protested the silence. During one fortnight in May VOF members and sympathizers deluged Manhattan stations with thousands of phone calls, often jamming switchboards. Other organizations pitched in. Citizens' committees stormed stations.

CBS cracked and broadcast a debate on the measure between Arthur Garfield Hays and Rep. Charles J. Kersten. WOR agreed to air a debate between Mundt himself and Henry Wallace; WMCA scheduled another. VOF doesn't claim credit for defeating the bill, but it certainly helped.

NEGRO CAMPAIGN. Current campaign is to swing the radio industry behind Negro History Week, which has been observed annually for 20 years but which has never been supported by the radio.

Cooperating with VOF is the Committee on Negroes in the Arts, composed of Cheryl Crawford, Lena Horne, Garson Kanin, Canada Lee, Paul Robeson and others. Every station in the land is being petitioned to give the event proper coverage.

CBS has announced that it will broadcast a documentary, The Story of Phillis Wheatley, on Tuesday, Jan. 25, 10:30-11:00 p.m., EST, in commemoration of the week, Feb. 6-13. VOF doesn't claim direct credit for this broadcast, but it is the first time CBS has honored Negro History Week and it is believed VOF's agitation has had some effect.

All other stations are being urged to follow suit, and to prevent hedging by studios unable to produce their own shows, VOF will distribute free a transcribed program conceived and executed by the Committee On Negroes In The Arts.

Book bargains

Used books, government books—all good buys

BARGAINS in books—real bargains—are offered by the American Lending Library, Inc., at 16 College Point, N. Y. The firm is the largest lending library in the U. S. and has thousands of volumes, fiction and non-fiction, withdrawn from active circulation, for sale at 49 to 69 cents each.

In addition it has a large catalog of new books from publishers' overstocks at the same prices.

Books can be ordered by mail with a 5-cent charge for postage. The current catalog contains about 1,000 titles and offers the best buys going. Catalogs are mailed to you on request.

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NOT everybody knows that the U. S. Government is one of the biggest publishers in the country and every two weeks issues a catalog of new pamphlets and books available at nominal prices upon order to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C.

Here are some tips on January titles of general interest.

Health Information Series No. 23—**High Blood Pressure.** 6 pages. 5c. Catalog No. FS 2.50:23.

Health Information Series No. 30—**Rabies.** 6 pages. 5c. Catalog No. FS 2.50:30.

Services and Facilities for Cancer Control in the United States. Jan. 1948. 87 pages. 20c. Basic purpose of this booklet is to stimulate the development of additional means for early detection and treatment, thus reducing cancer deaths. Catalog No. FS 2.8:208.

Environmental Cancer. 19 pages, illustrated. 20c. Deals thoroughly with industrial and occupational cancer hazards. Catalog No. FS 2.22:C 16/3.

Health Information Series No. 18—**Low Blood Pressure.** 4 pages. 5c. Catalog No. FS 2.50:18.

Korea, 1945 to 1948. 124 pages and a map. 25c. Political developments, and resources and economy. Catalog No. S 1.38:28.

Safe Water for the Farm. 46 pages, illustrated. 15c. A complete treatise on the sanitary and engineering principles required in providing safe fresh water for rural homes. Catalog No. A 1.9:1978.

What Are Good Teachers Like? 12 pages, illustrated. 10c. Results of an experiment in the summer of 1947 by the Office of Education which was determined to search out examples of good teaching. Catalog No. FS 5.7/a:T 22/5.

"It's sensational! The reader gets killed in it"

Have you got four friends?

Fill in → and send to:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
17 Murray St.
New York 7, N. Y.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN has no cash to spare for big-money promotion. This paper is being built by its own readers. This means you.

Hundreds and hundreds of GUARDIAN readers have undertaken to extend our readership in their communities, among their friends, on the job.

Please clip out the accompanying subscription blank, carry it with you, get your neighbors, friends and associates to sign up.

25% commissions and credit toward premiums of valuable office equipment will be allowed to any group you designate when you send us new subscribers.

Subscriber .....
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City ..... Zone ... State .....
☐ $4 Year ☐ $1 13 Weeks

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☐ $4 Year ☐ $1 13 Weeks

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City ..... Zone ... State .....
☐ $4 Year ☐ $1 13 Weeks

Subscriber .....
(Please Print)
Street No. .....
City ..... Zone ... State .....
☐ $4 Year ☐ $1 13 Weeks

THE COTTON PATCH

HARVIELL, MO.

TOTHER DAY I happened to get a copy of the hometown paper, and there were a headline in boxcar letters: "PROMINENT CITIZEN BEATEN AND ROBBED." The story goes on to relate how four men entered the office of Mr. Walter Richardson at his big cotton gin in Marston, Mo., just before closin time, beat him and took $10,000.

Sittin on a large rock and scratchin the place where some hair should have been on my head, I remembers the gentmun. I recollecks he is the planter that runs the big plantation with the robbissary store, in the old days before we organized us a union. We had doodlum books instead of money to trade at the robbissary—a kind of coupon book good only at this certain grab-all store, for which we had to pay 20% interest on the $.

We named it doodlum book because I don't care where you take it, it must doodle back to its name sake before it can be used. Yes sir, this man has been a beater and a robber of us workers for years and years.

I hate robbers and hijackers of every kind. And I was just thinkin it must have been pretty hard on this gentmun to have these four men come in and rob him, in ten minutes, of what it took him two or three years to rob us workers out of.

Difference between the two robrys, the way I see it, is that they beat him first and then robbed him. But he always robbed us first and then beat every one that protested.

"Lord, Lord," says I, "I hate this happened to him, but the worm turns some time."

Owen H. Whitfield

LETTERS

A fine start

McINTOSH, MINN.

We are sending you a copy of the letter sent to the Minnesota delegation in Congress:

We citizens, progressive voters and Minnesota farmers with a family ask you as the first order of business in the 81st Congress to wipe out of existence the Un-American Activities Committee and fight the warmongers in Washington who are preparing for a third world war. And also to keep our hands off Greece, China and other countries in the world.

Give our people their civil rights and social security program. Give us a New Deal and Roosevelt program.

And quit financing fascists and Nazis in Europe through the Marshall Plan, using taxpayers' money.

We will be watching you, and all the others who were elected on progressive platforms last fall.

So, stand up and be counted with those who are fighting to save the human dignity of Americans from such scoundrels as Karl Mundt and Parnell Thomas.

Mr. & Mrs. David Fryer

Nuts & pumpkins

BRISBANE, CALIF.

The Aronson story [Dec. 20] throws some light on the Chambers pumpkin yarn. We note that Chambers first swore he had no documentary evidence, and then produced what purports to be such evidence. He stated that microfilm was not sent to Russia; today we read in the press that he says he was sending film to Russia every week, etc.

What seems clear about Chambers is that he is a collossal liar; also that he should have been raising "nuts," not pumpkins, down on the farm.

Evidently, **Time** magazine can't afford to keep him on the payroll any longer. One thing to be elucidated is, how did he ever get on, at $30,000 per? What previous indications of ability had he ever shown? Was he ever a Communist or was he always a stooge and spy for big business interests? Maybe some of your staff can throw a little light on these mysteries.

Louise Harding Horr

Don't relax

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Your serial, "A Faith to Free the People" makes me realize exactly how close we really are to fascism. It seems that if we aren't constantly reminded of this threat (the only **real** one which we are facing) we tend to grow lax in our vigilance and, when this occurs, we lose our value as true progressives. Perhaps more articles on this same topic would serve as reminders to those who may have eased off a bit in the war against prejudice.

Albert Gerber

Progressive news

OBERLIN, OHIO

Would like to see more in the GUARDIAN on what the Progressive Party is doing. Couldn't you have a Progressive Party column, if not every week, say every two weeks or even once a month? Couldn't you get "Our Uncle Henry" to contribute a bit oftener?

Mrs. Paul Kenney

How can it be . . . ?

CROTON, N. Y.

A few weeks ago I visited Lidice, the obliterated site of the village in Czechoslovakia that the Nazis wiped out. (They didn't even leave the village pond; they filled it in with dirt and now there is just a sign, "Here was a pond.") I met there one of Lidice's surviving citizens, Maria Kaimlova, a middle-aged woman with dark gentle eyes and greying hair, who embraced me when she saw I was wearing a Wallace button. "How can it be," she said to me, "that there are still men in the world who want to do again what happened here?"

I think your readers will be interested in part of a letter I have just received from Maria Kaimlova:

"All of us—you there, and we over here—must work for peace. Every person who loves peace must bow in humility before the 195 martyrs who were shot, before the 82 children who perished in gas chambers, and the 50 mothers tortured to death in concentration camps.

"It is not only our dead in Lidice. Thousands upon thousands of them, in every land the war went through, bind us in honor to work honestly for a better and tranquil tomorrow without war's horror and suffering. We think we will succeed because there are more of us today than there are of those who want war.

"I beg you, help us in your beautiful land, and we who remained in Lidice will pray that your work be blessed.

"I greet you and all your dear friends very heartily."

Albert E. Kahn

Report to readers

Who said you could not write?

FROM a subscriber in Midland, Tex., comes the following letter:

"I wish to call to your attention the practice of local merchants giving prizes to the first baby born in each New Year.

"Please note clippings from the Midland **Reporter-Telegram** which all say 'first **white** baby of the year'.

"I asked the person in charge of awarding the prizes whether Mexicans were to be considered white or non-white. He said non-white.

"This is just one of the many petty ways of making the Latin-American aware—constantly—of his second-class status here. I hope to pass some of these facts on to you from time to time, since I see almost no mention of anti-Mexican discrimination in the national press."

The clippings enclosed with the letter illuminate the story considerably. The newspaper involved ran two full pages of ads on Dec. 29, in which 33 local merchants promised everything from jewelry to diaper service (with a funeral home offering a free ambulance ride home) for the "first white citizen" born in 1949 in Midland.

On Monday, Jan. 3, the paper announced the winner, a girl born at 2:33 a.m., Saturday, Jan. 1. The paper did not say (nor did our correspondent) whether the stork brought any non-white babies into the world on New Year's morning before delivering the Midland **Reporter-Telegram**'s "first white citizen" of 1949.

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NO GUARDIAN reader needs an editorial to explain how the so-called "free press" in this instance is exploiting race prejudice for advertising profit. On this point, write your own editorial—and check up on the practice in your own community. New Year's "Stork Derby" contests are annual rackets for hundreds of U.S. newspapers: did a non-white child stand a chance to win in your community?

Our main point for this week concerns the GUARDIAN reader functioning as news correspondent. The Midland, Tex., reader is, from the point of view of our editors, the ideal reader.

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The GUARDIAN now has thousands of readers in all 48 states. We haven't counted the various cities, communities and RFD routes represented in this readership, but that figure runs into many hundreds.

If every tenth GUARDIAN reader—or even every 100th—were to undertake the simple action of stuffing a few local clippings into an envelope once in a while with a few words of comment or background—the GUARDIAN would have the best corps of correspondents in America, bar none.

You don't have to be a fancy writer—nor do you need contacts at City Hall—to be an effective, reliable news correspondent. All you need is ordinary news judgment and some stamped envelopes, which we will supply on request.

Try your hand—this very week. If you can't find anything else newsy at hand, mail us your local Progressive Party bulletin or the canned editorials from your community press. With your active help, the GUARDIAN can present a panorama of American life each week the like of which no vaunted news service has ever put on the press wires of America.

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WHENEVER we get this kind of correspondence from our readers, it invariably makes news. The first week of GUARDIAN publication, it was a New Jersey reader who tipped us off to the Trenton "Scottsboro" case, which has now become an affair of international concern. A Seattle reader informs us of AFL protests against ECA maneuvers to use foreign shipping for Marshall Plan materials, while U.S. ships and workers stand idle.

From the Worcester (Mass.) **Progressive** (mimeographed) we learn of an unemployment level there of 6,500, not counting a thousand or more post-Christmas layoffs in the stores. We learn that the Worcester Progressives have scatted a local witch-hunt aimed at the city librarian; and that they provided food and Christmas baskets for strikers at the United Public Market, who have been out for nearly 20 weeks in protest against the company's refusal to bargain with AFL Local 137, Meat Cutters and Food Store Provision Employees Union. Also that a Progressive Party game, introduced by the Worcesterites, passing an orange from chin to chin without use of hands, may catch on nationally the way goldfish swallowing did.

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IN CLOSING, I am instructed by our circulation department to ask you, if you are a "1-13" or "1-14" subscriber (see Page 12), HAVE YOU RENEWED YOUR 'GUARDIAN' SUBSCRIPTION? If not, let that be your first stint as a GUARDIAN correspondent.

John T. McManus

Texas gets 'em coming and going

Pvt. Felix Longoria of Three Rivers, Tex., died in action on Luzon in 1945.

Last week his widow tried to make burial arrangements at Three Rivers.

The manager of the single undertaking parlor there refused the use of his facilities with the explanation that "white people object to the use of the funeral home by people of Mexican origin."

Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) arranged for burial for Pvt. Longoria either in Arlington or Sam Houston National Cemetery.

(Cedric Belfrage in his novel on U.S. mortuary customs, **Abide With Me,** tells of U.S. animal cemeteries which bar pets of Negroes lest white and Negro mourners mingle in their grief.)—**J. T. M.**

A Faith to Free the People

By Cedric Belfrage

THE Rev. Claude Williams, Presbyterian minister who founded the People's Institute of Applied Religion, set out in the middle '30's to assault the great wall of Southern race prejudice designed to keep the workers of the South, both black and white, divided and powerless against exploitation and actual conditions of slavery. Removed from his pastorate at Paris, Ark., where he invited Negroes to his home, he moved to Fort Smith, where he was jailed and eventually dispossessed for leading marches of unemployed. Yet all over the South the people were finding new hope in Claude's unceasing fight for the real meaning of Christianity.

VII. Light in the Darkness

"My boss is Telling Some of the Croppers here on the place, thot i am a Great Union Man and he is Going to Seek it up and if he find out for Show he is going to have me killed. i learnt this a few days ago, so i am a little uneasy."

—Letter to Claude Williams from a Negro sharecropper.

UNABLE to launch his program in Fort Smith since he could rent no house there, Claude moved to Little Rock. Throughout Arkansas, charges of pent-up savagery and hysteria were touched off by the "revolution" at Fort Smith. Participation in any organized attempt to better conditions had become the greatest of all crimes. The authorities treated every meeting of the poor as though it were a call to immediate and violent revolution.

In almost every day's mail, came piteous cries for help from black and white slaves on the plantations. From a Red River plantation a Negro wrote:

Dear Brother,

We are intirly to the bad. We are in sufferin condition, men with children seven to eight in family, with out food or clothes. We are tirde wearing cotton sack, flour sack. So we the people of Fulton (collored) are appealing to you. We are working men, and till the soil, and all we want is justice, but these people are far worse than Fairrow was in his day. Of corse I myself am willing to hold to the union, if possible Ill die. I loves the union better and better.

The country is in a bade shape. So if we can get your cooperation to pray that the great Supreme being will guide and lead us to the land of promise. May God bless the union.

Such letters were coming by the hundreds to the Southern Tenant Farmers Union organizers, from all the Red and Arkansas and Mississippi River bottomlands.

BY May, 1936, the union had been built up in Cross, Crittenden and St. Francis Counties to a strength which seemed to make an effective strike feasible.

As one of the first picketlines was marching, two carloads of planter-deputies drove up, armed with guns and clubs. Women and children on the picketline scattered into the fields, screaming. Frank Weems, a Negro, was beaten to a pulp.

A few days later Claude had a wire asking him to go to Earle in Crittenden County to conduct a funeral service for Frank Weems. Willie Sue Blagden, a girl of a wellknown and respectable Memphis family who had taken up social work after a course of study at Commonwealth, went with him.

The assignment was the strangest one the preacher had ever had, because, while all the people declared Weems had been beaten to death, there was no body. His body had been left on the porch of his house. From there it had disappeared.

THERE was high tension at Earle, and they searched with the greatest caution for Weems' wife. They picked up a young union member named Roy whom Claude knew, and Roy tried to help them. They had no success, and after a while Roy left them. They drove some miles out of Earle along the highway and spoke to a passing Negro, who told them of a store on the edge of town where they might get some information. They went back to the store, and had just stopped in front of it when six men drove up in a car, got out and walked over.

"Who are you?" one of the men asked. "And what's your business here?"

Claude told them his name, saying he had come to inquire about Weems, because if Weems was not dead, there would be no service the next day.

The man said: "Take 'em out." One of his companions got in the back seat of the car and the others stood on the runningboards. The man beside Claude told him to drive straight ahead. Claude drove about three miles to where a dirt-road forked off to the left over a wooden bridge. He was told to stop, and then the men started to ask more questions.

One of them said: "Don't you know it's not customary for a white man to go preachin' at a nigger's funeral in the South?"

"Yes," Claude said.

"They why do you do it?"

"The Christian religion does not discriminate."

"Well, by God, we do."

FIVE men took Claude through a barbwire fence and down about twenty-five feet from the road, while the other remained with the girl. A man went off and came back with a thick leather strap. It was the backband of a mule's harness.

Another man shoved him to the ground on his back, and almost as he fell he got the first lick with the strap. Between licks they kept asking him who the girl with him was, and he said he did not know. Then they asked him who the boy was who had been seen riding with them in the car. Between each question he got a violent lick with the strap. He said he thought the boy's name was Joe, but he was not sure. He did not count how many licks he received, but it must have been about twenty. The man wielding the strap was breathing heavily. They asked Claude whether he could identify the boy if he saw him again, and he said he thought he could.

"Well, we'll give you a chance."

He was hardly conscious, but his whole body was a terrible pain. The men helped him to his feet and brushed the dirt off his suit.

"How many of you want some of the girl's butt?" one of them said.

WILLIE Sue Blagden had heard the single cry from Claude and had sat in the car counting the cracks, which sounded each one like a tree falling. The men returned to the car with Claude and one of them said to her:

"Now it's your turn."

They told her to lie on the ground, but she would not. The man with the strap lifted it high and cracked it down over her thighs.

Again he brought the strap down, and again with all his strength. The men shouted at her to give the names of union organizers in Earle. She said nothing, and with a last violent blow with the mule's harness they desisted.

The two agitators were taken back to Earle and the girl was put on a Memphis-bound bus. The men drove Claude around trying to find Roy and get Claude to identify him. They got tired of this, but held Claude until nearly midnight while they discussed among each other whether it would be advisable to kill him. He was in great pain. In the end the men drove with him to the county line on the main Memphis-Little Rock highway. In the light of the car lamps they made him write out and sign a voluntary statement that he had not been hurt and had not been forced to make the statement. Then they told him to leave Crittenden County and never come back. It was great agony for him to drive the car and his head was bursting. His heart seemed to be wavering and missing beats. He reached Little Rock at two in the morning.

JOYCE had expected him to be away several days in the field.

Seeing that something was wrong, she said nothing, but came over calmly and put her arm around him.

"I want to undress now," he said, "so you can tell me what they've done to me."

His whole back was like a jelly. He did not say much more, because quite soon he lost consciousness.

THE preacher was a red and an ex-jailbird, but the woman was a woman of The Quality. The four licks on her thigh with a mule-harness, that June afternoon of the Lord's year 1936, were a serious tactical blunder, because her connections, her record and her sex made it possible for her to raise an effective clamor. Every newspaper in America headlined the story next morning. Crittenden County and the State of Arkansas blinked under the glare of what the **Arkansas Gazette** called "painfully deplorable publicity."

No newspaper south of the Mason and Dixon line expressed any sympathy for the red preacher. The preacher had asked for trouble, and perhaps he had got less than he asked for and was lucky to be alive. In the war he had joined, quarter was not often given to people on his side who stuck their necks out too far.

But the effect of the incident at Earle upon its victims was of minor importance. By dramatizing and drawing attention to a great sore upon the social body of America, it helped to set in motion healing and cleansing forces. Soon afterwards President Roosevelt sent investigators to study the charges of cotton-land peonage. With the national spotlight on his State, the Governor of Arkansas set up two months later a Farm Tenancy Commission to hold public hearings.

PLANTATION toilers saw the tide turning at last their way, and the convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union was held in an atmosphere of jubilation. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace sent a telegram of greeting to the convention, urging it to forward its recommendations to him. Through the new Committee for Rural and Social Planning, federal money was contributed to the convention to board and feed the delegates for four days.

When the time came to elect a new Governor in Arkansas, the New Deal openly backed Carl Bailey, who had served with Claude on the Commission investigating destitution in the State. The anti-New Deal candidate's defeat was assured when the white-trash of the hill country—the people whom a middle-class preacher described as "so ornery I'd just like to spit on 'em and drown 'em"—somehow scraped up poll-tax dollars and came down in battalions to vote for Bailey. A dollar was a fortune to them, but a dollar's-worth of this New Deal was the best buy they ever had.

8th INSTALLMENT NEXT WEEK

Paul Strand, Mexico, 1933

Cristo with thorns

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